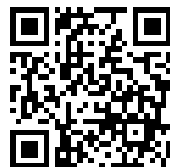

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[~~1823~~ 1829].

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13

SECOND PART
OF
THE CASE OF EUSEBIUS,
BY THE
AUTHOR OF THE FIRST.

2910

THE ABSURD HYPOTHESIS, THAT EUSEBIUS OF CÆSAREA, BISHOP
AND HISTORIAN, WAS AN EDITOR OR CORRUPTER OF
THE HOLY SCRIPTURES,

EXPOSED,

IN

A SECOND PART

OF

THE CASE OF EUSEBIUS,

BY THE

AUTHOR OF THE FIRST:

WITH

AN APPENDIX

ON THE

EIGHTH OF THE AUTHOR'S BAMPTON LECTURES

IN

REPLY TO OBSERVATIONS

Contained in a Book entitled

PALÆOROMAÏCA.

by Thomas Falconer
A. M. A.
C. C. C.

OXFORD,

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AND SOLD BY J. PARKER.**

1823.

G. Pamph. 2910 (1)

THE CASE OF EUSEBIUS,

&c. &c.

I DO not conceive that it is necessary to explain to the reader the reasons why this reply to "Remarks on a passage in Eusebius's Ecclesiastical History, with translations in modern Greek and Italian, (communicated by M. Calbo, to the Rev. F. Nolan,)" did not appear sooner, or why it appears at all before the public. The arguments, whether strong or weak, have the same strength, the same weakness, which they ever had; and perhaps the subject is still new, for probably nothing more is known of the existence of such a controversy, than was communicated to the readers of the Eclectic Review. And I take this opportunity of saying, that I thought myself obliged by the notice in that Review of so small a number of pages, as that of which "The Case of Eusebius, &c." consists.

The language of the Remarks is abusive, and insulting, and arrogant. Bad argument and defective information however might not appear the worse, by endeavouring to imitate the style of an educated gentleman.

It is with great reluctance that I again direct my attention to the hypothesis which I exposed in "The Case of Eusebius, &c." and which has been refitted and enlarged by its author, with the assistance of Sig. Calbo.

Although it is designed to be used as the means of recovering certain passages of the sacred writings relative to the divinity of our Saviour, which are alleged to have been originally a part of those writings, but omitted or expunged, and particularly the controverted passage, 1 John v. 7. and of accounting for the corruption of others; yet as the hypothesis is plainly calculated to be of more use to the Deist and the Infidel, than to the Christian; to him, who wishes to annihilate the whole volume of sacred Scripture, than to him, who proposes to reinstate in their supposed places, or to re-

store to their former supposed authority, a few, though important, sentences, I have determined to review my examination of that hypothesis, and the objections advanced against its accuracy.

Since the preceding preliminary remarks were written, I have seen with regret, that the Bishop of St. David's has referred, without objection or censure, to the language of the fabricator of the hypothesis respecting an imaginary edition of the Scriptures published by Eusebius of Cæsarea. Mr. Grier also, as I learn from his lordship's book, speaks of the "invincible arguments" of the same author. It is very kind and courteous to designate such arguments, as I have examined, by this imposing epithet. Whether that which I have singled out be one of this host, I do not know; but the author expresses some concern for its safety, and observes to Sig. Calbo, "*the effect of this interpretation of the passage (of Constantine's letter) 'upon my argument is perfectly obvious, without being formally specified.'*"

1. It is proper to acquaint the reader, that by the hypothesis, to which I shall direct his attention, several important passages are supposed to have been omitted, erased, or corrupted, through the management and contrivance of the celebrated historian Eusebius, Bishop of Cæsarea, when in obedience to the command of Constantine the Great, he ordered fifty copies of the Scriptures to be transcribed, which the Emperor probably intended to be placed in the new churches, that he proposed to build in his capital in consequence of the increase of converts to Christianity. The directions of Constantine are contained in a letter written by himself, and addressed to Eusebius, in whose work on Ecclesiastical History it is preserved, p. 646. ed. Reading. It is given at length in the "Case of Eusebius," part i. It is a very curious and important relic of ecclesiastical antiquity, and its examination would not have been a task beneath the attention of Dr. Laurence, in the review of one of whose works the strange hypothesis was first obtruded upon the public. It will be necessary at present therefore to extract only a portion of the letter :

Version by the fabricator of the hypothesis.

Πρίνοι γὰρ κατέφασι δηλῶσαι τῇ σὺ
ΣΤΗΝΕΣΙ ἵππαις ἀντιτίκοντα σὺ-

It seemed good unto us to
submit to your consideration,

μαίτις ἐν διφθέρις ἡγκατασκευαίς εὐκαίγνωστα τι καὶ πρὸς τὴν χρῆσιν εὐμετακόμιστα ὑπὸ τεχνιτῶν καλλιγράφων καὶ ἀκριβῶς τὴν τέχνην ἐπισταμίονι γραφῆναι καλίσυται· τῶν θείων δηλαδὴ γραφῶν, οἳ μάλιστα τὴν εὐπιστοσύνην καὶ τὴν χρῆσιν τῷ τῆς ἐκκλησίας λόγῳ ἀναγκαίαν εἶναι γινώσκεις.

that you would order to be written on parchment prepared for the purpose by able scribes, and accurately skilled in their art, fifty codices, both legible and portable, so as to be useful; namely, of the sacred Scriptures whereof chiefly you know the preparation and use to be necessary to the doctrine of the Church.

This English version has been translated into modern Greek, the modern Greek version into Italian, and the Italian version into English, with what intention the author of the contrivance shall explain in his own words, addressed to Sig. Calbo: "As the version, which I have there given, if it possess any fidelity, should bear a second change without losing its likeness to the original, may I solicit as a favour, that you would submit it to the process, and when you have turned it into modern Greek, compare with the text of "Eusebius, and then state the result of the experiment."

Let us suppose, that this farrago of versions were extended to all the known languages, what would be gained by this transfusion of the meaning of words through so many media? What number of versions, and into what tongues, would decide this question? In the place of the usual aids of criticism, as history, the style of contemporary persons, the consideration of the manners, customs, and institutions of the age and country in which the writer lived, and perhaps above all these, the language of the author in other parts of his work, is substituted a Polyglot, not a Polyglot of separate versions of the original, but a Polyglot of versions of versions, a multiplication of images, reflection succeeding reflection, where the errors of the first version of the original must, in proportion to their respective fidelity to each other, pervade all the other versions in succession. And upon a comparison of the versions of the disputed passages in this portion of the letter of Constantine, it appears, that the version of the original and the version of the version are *not* equivalent, as might have been expected.

Eusebius.

Τὸ δεῦναι τῇ σῇ εἰσιτι.

E. Version.

To submit to your consideration.

B 2

Mod. Greek.

Τὸ ἵα δαλοποιῆσαι εἰς τὴν εὐνοίαν
 σου (Φρονησὶν σου.)

Mod. Greek.

ἵα φεραμαὶ ὑπὸ τὴν προσοχὴν σου.

Italian.

Notificarlo alla vostra prudenza.

Italian.

Di sottoporre alla vostra considerazione.

The translations of the original into modern Greek and Italian express that personification of the quality specified, for which I have contended, but there is no such personification in the word "consideration." I therefore repeat my former objection, that ΣΤΝΕΣΣΕΙ does not here denote "consideration," and assert that it is a titular and honorary appellation, and I confirm this opinion by new authority, which others may verify and estimate for the fabricator of the hypothesis: "ΣΤΝΕΣΣΙΣ titulus honorarius apud Basilium et alios." This may suffice at present respecting the subject of titles of honour and respect.

2. There is yet another translation, entitled, "Amended Translation of Eusebius, proposed by Mr. Falconer." The brackets and their contents, and the ambiguity and nonsense produced by them, are not mine, but belong to the fabricator of the hypothesis. The scattered alterations proposed by me of his own erroneous version collected together, and disposed into a whole, are presented to the public as an amended translation proceeding from my hand. I disavow it, and declare it to be a polemical stratagem, worthy of a person, whose critical acumen, and whose nice sense of morality, do not qualify him to distinguish in the *mutilation* of the volume of the Scriptures any thing more than *an edition* of them.

3. The controversy, I am told, may at once be laid at rest by the introduction of another hypothesis; namely, that "the instrument before us" (the author means the letter of Constantine) "was written in Latin," and "translated by Eusebius into Greek." I do not object to the trial of any expedient, which may at once lay a controversy at rest. I only doubt the composing properties of this, which is recommended, but its efficacy shall be fairly ascertained.

In the history of Eusebius private letters and public edicts are numerous. Of these many are written in Greek, and many are translated into Greek from the Latin original. I will recite the titles of perhaps the greatest part of them, and refer to their places in the history.

Eusebius translated the *Palinodia* of Constantine into Greek, *Ecc. Hist.* l. viii. p. 403. ed. Reading. He translated the Letter of Sabinus the Prætorian Præfect, *Eccl. Hist.* l. ix. p. 439. The *Decr  e* of Maximinus is translated, and perhaps by Eusebius, *Eccl. Hist.* l. ix. p. 456. The celebrated Edict of Constantine and Licinius, the Edict of Milan, is translated by Eusebius, from the Latin, *Eccl. Hist.* l. x. p. 480. A Letter from Constantine to Anulinus, *not* translated, *Eccl. Hist.* l. x. p. 483. A Letter to Miltiades, Bishop of Rome, *not* translated, *Eccl. Hist.* l. x. p. 484. A Letter to Chrestus, Bishop of Syracuse, *not* translated, *Eccl. Hist.* l. x. p. 485. A Letter to C  cilianus, Bishop of Carthage, *not* translated, *Eccl. Hist.* l. x. p. 486. A Letter to Anulinus, *not* translated, *Eccl. Hist.* l. x. p. 487. A Letter from Constantine to Eusebius, *not* translated, *Vit. Constantin.* l. ii. p. 559. An Edict of Constantine on the errors of Polytheism is translated, *Vit. Constantin.* l. ii. p. 560. The Letter of Constantine to Alexander and Arius, *not* translated, *Vit. Constantin.* l. ii. p. 567. Constantine's profession, that he ascribed his victories to God, and not to himself, was published in Greek and Latin, *Vit. Constantin.* l. ii. p. 548. Constantine's Letter to the churches, concerning the Synod of Nice, *not* translated, *Vit. Constantin.* l. iii. p. 586. A Letter from Constantine to Macarius, *not* translated, *Vit. Constantin.* l. ii. p. 607. A Letter concerning the building a church at Mamre, *not* translated. A Letter to the people of Antioch, *not* translated, *Vit. Constantin.* l. iii. p. 619. A Letter to the Heretics, *not* translated, *Vit. Constantin.* l. iv. p. 631. The Form of Prayer enjoined the soldiery, translated, *Vit. Constantin.* l. iv. p. 636. A Letter to Eusebius, *not* translated, *Vit. Constantin.* l. iv. p. 645. A Letter addressed to the Synod of Tyre, *not* translated, *Vit. Constantin.* l. iv. p. 649. It appears also, that Constantine composed orations in Latin, which were translated by persons appointed for this purpose. One of them is to be found, *Vit. Constantin.* l. iv. p. 644.

The conclusion, which I apprehend may be drawn from this review of these documents, is, that the Emperor, according to established usage, in his private communications with individuals by letter, used the Greek language, but in forming and promulgating Edicts, where he interposed with the imperial authority he used the Latin, the language appropriated to laws, and to the transaction of state affairs. For this reason he addressed the Council of Nice in the Latin

language, and not for another, which has been suggested upon supposition by the fabricator of the hypothesis, and which will be exposed in its proper place. A difference between the forms of address in the letters, and the Edicts of the Emperor, has been observed by the editor Valesius, in a note on a passage in Eusebius, Eccl. Hist. p. 457. “*Denique in Epistolis nomen duntaxat Imperatoris cum paucissimis titulis præfigitur. In Edictis vero, omnes tituli, nullo omissio, diligenter et ambitiose ponuntur.*” Another difference, which he has not observed, consists in the language, used in these two different kinds of communication; the Greek in his familiar intercourse by letter; the Latin in his state papers. I apprehend therefore that I am justified both by reasoning and by example in concluding, that the original letter in question of Constantine to Eusebius was written in Greek, not to omit another circumstance of no small import, that Eusebius himself does not speak of the existence of any original in Latin.

We can now appreciate the conjecture of the fabricator of the hypothesis: “if I may be allowed to assume that, *in which Eusebius nearly bears me out*, that the instrument before us was written in Latin, and has been translated by that historian into Greek, I believe the controversy between the Examiner and myself *may be at once laid at rest.*”

4. I am willing however to consider the presumptive proof of his conjecture. “For while *no Latin word*, which expresses nature or constitution, *could* have suggested the term λόγος, that word would naturally be suggested by any term, by which doctrine is usually expressed. And in the same view of the subject, on taking τὸ δηλώσαι τῇ σῇ συνέσει with the explanatory phrase in the context τῆς σῆς ἐπιμελείας ἔργον τοῦτο γενήσεται, the proper force of the phrase may be precisely determined from an edict of the same age, and derived from the same authority, which is preserved by Lactantius, and has been translated by Eusebius. In this instrument sollicitudini tuæ significanda esse of the Latin is rendered by Eusebius δηλώσαι τῇ σῇ ἐπιμελείᾳ. In this passage were the Greek ambiguous, the Latin would decide the point in dispute.” p. 4.

The Edict in question is the celebrated Edict of Toleration, promulgated at Milan, not “by the same authority” as that from which Eusebius received his mandatory letter, but by the joint authority of Constantine and Licinius.

In the treatise de Mortibus Persecutorum, the words of the Edict are, "quæ solitudini tuæ plenissime significanda esse credimus;" and the corresponding words of the Greek translation by Eusebius are, ἅτινα τῇ σῇ ἐπιμελείᾳ πληρέστατα δηλῶσαι ἰδογματίσαμεν. This language certainly determines the application of the term ἐπιμελεία, and clearly points out a personification of the quality. The words are not simply significanda esse, as in the citation produced by the fabricator of the hypothesis, nor δηλῶσαι only in the version, but plenissime significanda esse in one, and πληρέστατα δηλῶσαι in the other.

In Constantine's Letter to Eusebius, ἐπιμελείας is joined with ἔργον, as τῆς σῆς ἐπιμελείας ἔργον τοῦτο γενήσεται, where the titular force of ἐπιμελείας is not so obvious, but still the title is there. The same word joined with πληρέστατα δηλῶσαι is personified more strongly in the Edict than with ἔργον in the letter, but it is evidently invested with personality, and the difference of the degree of personification is the whole difference between the two passages. Eusebius therefore does not in this instance "bear out" the fabricator in his second and auxiliary hypothesis.

5. But to shew the prevalence of this practice of applying abstract terms significant of virtues or qualities moral or intellectual, to the purpose of courtly compliment and address, I also shall refer to this Edict of Milan: "Quare scire Dicationem tuam convenit placuisse nobis," &c. and it is repeated in another sentence elsewhere, "intelligit Dicationem tua." In another book this word is explained as a titular denomination: "Dicatio, titulus honorarius." If I shall be told that Dicationem is not the true reading, and that it ought to be Dignationem, this is unnecessary as a conjecture, and not true perhaps as a various reading, and yet if adopted will not take us out of the rule and principle for which I am contending: "Dignatio est præterea titulus honorarius in Epistolis, St. Augustini, Ruricii—et aliorum frequens." We shall soon perceive the intention of applying these abstract qualities and circumstances in a titular form.

6. And this leads me to the consideration of the remarks of Sig. Calbo, on the meaning of the word Σύνεσις, and on some other points.

(1.) "If I am not deceived," says Sig. Calbo, "this word (Σύνεσις) had originally but the signification of an union "or concourse of physical objects. Hom." I am not dis-

posed to contradict this remark as far as it relates to Homer, who according to Damm, the celebrated lexicographer, expresses the confluence or junction of rivers by *ζύνσεις*.

(2.) "The notion of *comparing*, reflecting, *judging*, *selecting*, re-uniting, and combining by the mind, was not annexed to it, until about the time when Greece applied to philosophy, (Plat. Aris. Xen. Mem.) from whence it then signified as it signifies now, *prudence*, intelligence, good-sense, ratiocination, and more precisely what Condillac understands in his Logic by *le jugement*."

Damm, as Sig. Calbo, as well as myself, knows, says, "recentiores (referring to Homer) ponunt τὴν ζύνσιν ἐπὶ φρονήσεως, si quis comparatis invicem pluribus scit eligere *optimum*;" and hence Sig. Calbo's notion of *comparing*, "reflecting, judging, *selecting*." A writer however, who lived before those, whom Sig. Calbo has mentioned, has used *Σύνσεις* in the sense of reflecting, judging. Pindar, whom Sig. Calbo might have seen quoted by Damm, has these words,

τόλμαν τε καλῶν ἀραμένε
ΣΥΝΕΣΙΣ οὐκ ἀποβλέπει φρενῶν.

Nem. vii. v. 88.

Damm explains ΣΥΝΕΣΙΣ by prudentia, and Sig. Calbo by prudenza, intelligenza, among other senses, when it occurs in the prose writers. In the age of Pindar then it denoted with φρενῶν (which I conceive is the complete form of the figurative expression) prudentia. The question therefore is, whether prudence or intelligence (for Sig. Calbo and myself do not differ but with respect to the *date* of these significations of *σύνσεις*) is used as a title.

(3.) "I do not believe," he continues, "that any other meaning was annexed to it, unless shortly after the establishment of the Church, and *not previously to the death of Constantine himself*; since the bishops of those times are given (the Italian is better, non si davano) no other title than that of ἀδελφοί."

I am not contending for *any other meaning* than prudence or intelligence, but simply for the application of *that same meaning* as an honorary designation, and I may be allowed to argue, that it does not follow because the bishops of the age *preceding* that of Constantine had no other title than ἀδελφοί, that those, who were *contemporary* with Constantine,

might not be addressed in other forms of respect and compliment.

(4.) "And it seems," says Sig. Calbo, "that from the use that prince (Constantine) made of the word in his letters to the bishops, (see Euseb. Vit. Constant. lib. iii. c. 60, 61, 62.) it consequently received some tincture of what (allowing for the difference of the persons) the words *ὑπερίστας φιλανθρωπίας, πρῶτος, καλοκαγαθίας, φιλαγαθίας*, have in speaking to a monarch, words, which are not used as so many titles, nor signify fully *humanitas, mansuetudo, benignitas, and bonitas*." There is a concession in the words *quelle tinte* "some shades of a title," beyond which it would be unreasonable to expect or require more, because it is the concession of the very matter in dispute. Sig. Calbo was called in as a judge to condemn, and inflict shame upon an ignorant pretender, but the judge turns out to be an accessory, an accomplice, an approver, timid and reluctant indeed, but still a party in the crime imputed, "the barbarous murder of the finest language in existence." And what has been murdered? A single term applied as a complimentary appellation of a dignified ecclesiastic, and applied probably, as we may have reason to think, for the first time in that manner by the Emperor Constantine to an ecclesiastic of rank.

7. I now come to the subject of titles, from which the fabricator contemptuously turns away, and talks of "waste of research." He imagines that it is a question of mere philology to be settled by a mere lexicographer, and not a question of history as well as lexicography, whether a certain term is to be regarded as a titular designation. The philologist must here give way to the historian, and perhaps to Eusebius himself.

It may be difficult to fix precisely, the date of the first application of complimentary titles to ecclesiastics, but I am disposed to think that the practice was first introduced, as I intimated before, by Constantine himself. Eusebius relates that the Emperor thought the ministers of God worthy of the highest respect and distinction, and expressed it both in his language and actions, τοὺς τοῦ Θεοῦ λειτουργοὺς συγκαλῶν θεαπείας καὶ τιμῆς τῆς ἀνατάτω ἡξίου ἔργοις καὶ λόγοις τοὺς ἀνδρας ἄσσαντες τῷ αὐτοῦ Θεοῦ καθιερωμένους φιλοφρονούμενος, Vit. Constant. l. i. c. 42. He also admitted them as guests to his table and took them as companions in his journeys.

Selden, in his work on "Titles of Honour," has given an

historical view of the use and introduction of complimentary designations in the abstract, and observes, that "*before the empire was reduced under one, it was not come into fashion to use appellations of honour or otherwise to any person by the abstract, but in the concrete only; howsoever there be passages in some old authors, that have some taste of such a kind of expression.*" p. 96. "But this kind of language was very rare, and it was far from a received fashion, in any kind to use it, before Numen and Majestas came thus into custom, after which it became very frequent also to express other persons of dignity by such kinds of abstracts, as the Præfecti Prætorio, Proconsuls, and such more by Sublimitas tua, Excellentia tua, Celsitudo tua, and the like, which are often met with in both the Codes, and the Novels, Cassiodore his Formulary, and other old testimonies. And in the same way came also Beatitudo tua, Sanctitas tua egregia, Dignatio tua, Præstantia tua, Serenitas tua, and such more in letters to men of quality either in the church or commonwealth, as we see in divers epistles among those of St. Augustine, St. Hierome, in Cassiodore's Formulary, Symmachus, and others, both of the ancient and later times to this day." p. 97. "This expression of the Emperor by the abstract Majestas (wherein Numen also was commonly joined in inscriptions) became, it seems, the example by which the ensuing times brought in the frequency of those other abstracts, which designed the Emperors as well in the first, as in the second, and third person; as Perennitas, Eternitas, Tranquillitas nostra, Serenitas, and the like, which are most obvious in the Rescripts of the old Emperors, that remain yet in the two codes of Theodosius and Justinian, the last book of the Epistles of Symmachus, and divers such more testimonies." p. 96.

What are we to say of the dogma of the fabricator, who substitutes opinion in the place of research: "*It seems to me,*" he says, "to be just as absurd to assume, that sollicitudo can mean a title, as it would be to deny that it signifies a quality, which was to be exercised in discharging the duty which the Emperor imposed." It was this very relation of such qualities to the duties of the respective stations, that constituted their convertibility into the titles of those who were placed in them. "As in the Roman empire," says Selden, "it was a solemn custom to give to the Emperor the titles of Pius and Felix, which were the most usual, and Clemens

“and Tranquillus, Sanctissimus, and many others, such denoting *their quality*, or that *which should* be their quality “by way of *honorary*, but arbitrary addition.” p. 99.

8. This reasoning from the manners and customs of the age of Constantine is next to be refuted by a grammatical argument: “the phrase *δηλῶσαι τῇ σὴ συνίσει ὑμῶν* of Eusebius, in which he discovers,” says the fabricator, “the titles “of five bishops, would be just as inadmissible in English, “as it is in Greek, and could only be taken in the sense “which he ascribes to it by violating the commonest principles of grammar, by confounding the singular with the “plural, and the personal with the possessive pronoun.” I shall remark in passing, that *the other Bishops* at Antioch, besides the five mentioned by name, do not, it seems, augment the sum total. Five and the others are only five in this arithmetic of the fabricator.

But the title, your intelligences would accord with the analogy of the English language as well as your excellencies, and is admissible precisely on the same ground as this latter word; namely, on the ground of being converted into a titular appellation.

With respect to the use of the pronoun, we may refer again, where we referred before, to Selden’s learning and authority: “Indeed,” says he, “the Persian and Greek Emperors in Esther, Ezra, the Maccabees, Hippocrates Epistles, and such more, often use the singular as well as the “plural, as other Emperors and Kings also in the more “ancient times. But *in the later ages it is otherwise*, and no “thing is more common, than *our princely favour, our royal “care*, and in the second person, *vobis, vester*, and the like, “in expressions *of or to* supreme princes, and *from them as “other matters of honour, some inferiors take it by communication*,” p. 88.

These titles were frequently what Selden describes them to be, “*honorary*,” but “*arbitrary additions*,” and we may also say, therefore, temporary. The inscriptions preserve but a few of the innumerable titles bestowed by lavish flatterers upon Trajan, and no memory could retain them all. Such an honorary and arbitrary addition I should call that in Constantine’s Letter applied to Eusebius, “Your Purity;” “*which when Your Purity has read*.” These forms were intended to avoid the introduction of the name of the persons addressed, or the use of the pronoun, by substituting some flattering or ceremonious appellation according to the prin-

ciple explained by Selden: "but for particularly naming "superiors or inferiors, there is an ancient form (mentioned "in Servius Honoratus) of expressing names, when great "persons speak or write *to* or *of* their inferiors, and of avoid- "ing them by inferiors, when they speak or write to their "superiors. Inferiors," saith Servius, "are honoured by "their superiors, if they be named by them when they speak "to them. But it is a dishonour to be so particularly named "by his inferiors." p. 89.

Constantine no doubt understood this principle of ceremony; and as he was desirous of shewing the highest respect for the ecclesiastics, used this mode of addressing those of high rank, by imputed qualities instead of repeating familiarly their names, or employing the bare, and authoritative, and humiliating pronoun, by suppressing which the harshness of commands and orders directed to such persons was veiled and softened.

The fabricator of the hypothesis concludes with the triumphant sneer: "By this single quotation," (he means from the translation of the Edict of Milan, by Eusebius,) "*the nature and constitution of the very pretty puerility* (that *σύνεσις* is a "title) with which the Examiner seems to have been so "*amusingly captivated*, appears to be sufficiently exposed without any waste of research into ecclesiastical antiquity on "the subject of the titles of the Bishops of those early times." Here is a slight mistake. The Exposer is exposed, and by the worst person that could attempt to effect it, by himself.

10. The phrase τῇ τῆς ἐκκλησίας λόγῳ will not occasion much trouble. The fabricator translates it, "the doctrine of the "church." I have suggested that it means here, "the "nature and constitution of the church;" and I supported this interpretation by examples of similar phraseology in Eusebius, as τῷ τοῦ δικαίου λόγῳ, and ὡς ἂν ὁ τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἐπιστήμης ὑφηγῆται λόγος, Vit. Constant. l. iii. p. 620. to which I add another from the speech of Polycarp in the same writer: εἰ δὲ θέλεις, τὸν τοῦ Χριστιανισμοῦ μαθεῖν λόγον, δὸς ἡμέραν καὶ ἀκουσον. The martyr meant here an account of Christianity, and the Latin version expresses it well by "Christiani cultus rationem." The fabricator indeed affirms, that "while *no Latin word*, which expresses nature or constitution, *could have suggested* the term λόγος, that word would "be naturally suggested by any term by which doctrine is "usually expressed, and to which λόγος corresponds." The Latin word ratio in combination with others is that equiva-

lent phrase, as *ratio juris*, *ratio ventorum* of Pliny, *ratio februm* of Celsus, and the Latin is probably an imitation of the Greek phrase as used by the best Greek writers. There is still another passage in the Life of Constantine by Eusebius, where the same phrase is found: προσφωνησάντων γὰρ ἡμῶν αὐτῷ μυστικὴν ἀνακαλύψιν ΤΟΥ τῆς ἐορτῆς ΛΟΓΟΥ, ὅπως ἡμᾶς ἡμεῖς αὐτοὶ τιμήσας ἀντιφωνήσῃ μάθοι ἂν τις ἐντυχὼν αὐτοῦ τῶδε τῷ γεράμματι, Vit. Constant. lib. iv. p. 644. If therefore this phrase is used according to the practice of the best writers, *ratio* is the corresponding Latin term: if it is not, still it would be improper to reason upon the phraseology of Greek ecclesiastical writers according to principles and rules applicable to the language written in its purest form. If it is a Latinism, and it will soon be insisted upon by the fabricator, that the original letter of Constantine to Eusebius was written in Latin, *ratio* is the original word, and not *doctrina*, for *διδασχῇ*, or *διδασκαλία*, would then have been the equivalent in the translation, and not *λόγος*.

11. We are however to attend to the opinion of Sig. Calbo, which was specially requested on the signification of *λόγος* in this passage. Sig. Calbo observes, "I remember no passage in which this word (*λόγος*) signifies constitution or nature, if indeed certain controversies be excepted, into which Theologians fall," (sic) "when involving their learning in a labyrinth of words, they endeavour to explain the first chap. of St. John;" and he then quotes a passage from which I take the conclusion: "καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἐρμηνεύσω τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ ΣΠΙΕΩ τὸν λόγον τῆς ζωῆς, thence enumerating the whole of what he intended to teach, he shews that he intended to speak neither of the nature, or constitution of life, as far at least as my judgment extends, where, if I err not, availing himself of Solomon's assistance, it would seem that he inclines to believe it signifies sapientia, knowledge, wisdom." It may be so, but the word *λόγον* does not signify in this passage "the doctrine of life," but "the word of life;" "the word of God," and not "the doctrine of God," as may be learnt without consulting any schoolboy or adult oracle. I affirmed, and I assert it again, that *λόγον* in Eusebius has the meaning of nature and constitution joined with *τῆς ἐκκλησίας*, and its meaning must be varied according to the words with which it is combined. The author of a sensible comment on Aldrich's Logic has a remark, which I shall apply here: "each language moreover possesses some words to which there are no correspondent

“expressions in another. Of this kind are, the French “word *ennui*, the Latin *colo*, the Greek ΛΟΓΟΣ, ἐκκλησιαστίς. Such combinations of ideas can be expressed in “other languages only by adopting the foreign word, or by “*circumlocutions*, or by *approximation*,” pag. 12, 13. sec. ed. This author’s account of *ratio* agrees with my own, although nature and constitution are not to be found in his version of the extracts from Cicero: “in rationem utilitatis cadit (head “or division) ratio triplex (plan or classification) omnis ratio debet vacare temeritate (course or system of conduct) “ratio negligendæ mortis, (the principle,)” p. 25, 26.

Nor in the other phrases cited from Eusebius shall we have the doctrine of justice, λόγος τοῦ δικαίου, nor the doctrine of ecclesiastical wisdom, λόγος τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἐπιστήμης, but “the principle” or “system” of these things. It may be remarked, that Sig. Calbo has replied to the question respecting the general meaning of λόγος, and not of the word in combination with others that regulate its signification.

12. Although I do not admit, and have assigned some, and shall assign other reasons for not admitting, the supposed fact, yet I am not willing to pass over in silence and neglect the arguments of Sig. Calbo in support of his opinion, that the original Letter of Constantine was written in the Latin language. “I perceive,” says Sig. Calbo, “that the Greek “abandoning his proper manner gets beside the subject, as “in μέγιστον πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀγιωτάτῃ ἀνατίθεικεν “*ταυτὸ*, where there is observable a servile adherence to *esse* “*adjunxit*, and also in τῶν θεῶν δηλαδὲ γεγραμῶν, in which passage not being able to give his ideas the same order which “they possess in the Latin, he found himself necessitated to “connect the remnant of the sense by uniting it with δηλαδὲ, “and besides this, I believe it to be peculiar to the style of “every translator, who endeavours to be faithful, to use periphrases from wanting appropriate words: whence the term “*vehiculorum* is rendered by ὄχηματων εἰς διακομιδὴν.” Admitting the truth of some of these remarks, it does not follow that the original was written in the Latin language. The letter would bear some indications of a version, if the writer translated his own thoughts clothed in his own language into another with which he was not well acquainted, or he might use in this phrase the colloquial idiom of the place, an idiom previously perhaps corrupted by an imitation of the Latin language. “Perhaps also,” says Sig. Calbo, “this letter “was written by the hand of the Emperor, and then I can-

“not see how in writing it to one, who understood Latin, he
 “could find any language preferable to his native tongue in
 “which he could express himself tersely, and without diffi-
 “culty, and give as it were life to his thoughts.” I shall not
 stay to determine whether the birth-place of Constantine were
 York or Nissa; where he might have acquired his knowledge
 of the Greek language; but why he *preferred* the Greek to
 the Latin language must be left to conjecture; why he used
 it upon any occasion whatever I shall explain elsewhere. If
 the Emperor did not express himself tersely, nor with ease,
 nor animation, the subject did not require any rhetorical dis-
 play of this kind. A letter of commands from a superior re-
 quires merely intelligibility.

“Since then,” proceeds Sig. Calbo, “this document may
 “have been Latin, the question should turn on the signifi-
 “cation of the words prudentia, apparatus, ecclesia. I add the
 “word apparatus, because the Greek uses the word ἐπισκευή,
 “which signifies instauratio; and perhaps ‘I am wrong in
 “not knowing any other meaning of the word, or probably
 “it is an error of the copyists, and that we should read σκευή,
 “or παρασκευή, or perhaps even διασκευή.”

But there is no necessity for this correction of the text of
 the letter, for the word ἐπισκευή occurs twice; a second time
 where the Catholicus of the diocese is enjoined to take care
 that every thing necessary was furnished for this ἐπισκευήν of
 the volumes, such as able scribes, and good parchment. Ἐπι-
 σκευή is the making new copies, and nothing more.

13. “Concerning the subject of grammar,” continues
 Sig. Calbo, addressing himself to the fabricator, “there is
 “little to be said. The passage is in no respect intricate.
 “The following is the construction of it.”

I am charged with wresting τῇ λόγῳ from its dependence on
 ἀναγκαίαν εἶναι in the following sentence: ἀν μάλιστα τὴν τ’ ἐπισκευήν,
 καὶ τὴν χρῆσιν τῇ τῆς ἐκκλησίας λόγῳ ἀναγκαίαν εἶναι γινώσκεις. I re-
 ply, that I neither separated nor joined them, nor considered
 their grammatical relation to one another at all, for of this I
 had no doubt. The subject of uncertainty was the meaning of
 the term λόγῳ. The construction I took for granted was ob-
 vious even to the fabricator of the hypothesis, but I was mis-
 taken it seems, for he applied to Sig. Calbo for his opinion
 respecting the grammatical analysis of the sentence. In the
 Case of Eusebius I had said, “but what are we to do with τῇ
 “τῆς ἐκκλησίας λόγῳ. Eusebius elsewhere speaks of τῇ τοῦ
 “δικαίου λόγῳ, and in the Letter to the Bishops at Antioch,

"we have ὡς ἂν ὁ τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ὑφηγῆται λόγος. We have "also in the Latin language, secundum rationem ventorum, "rationem juris." It is clear then, that the meaning of the word λόγος, not the construction of the sentence was the object of *my* question.

14. The fabricator of the hypothesis replies to the letter of of Sig. Calbo, and remarks, "By fixing with logical precision "the force of the term σύνεσις, and giving a determinate sense "to the latter part of the passage, it is needless to observe "*how fully* the inference is confirmed, which I had deduced "respecting the discretionary power of *selecting* and *amending*, which Eusebius might conceive himself required to "exercise in discharging the duty imposed on him by the "Emperor."

(1.) With respect to the power given to Eusebius in the Letter of the Emperor: and that I assert was none, for the Emperor recognizes the possession of all the power which was necessary to be exercised on this occasion by Eusebius, and does not confer, nor pretends to confer, any which the Bishop did not possess before. He directs Eusebius to give his orders for the transcription of the copies, ὅπως ἂν—γραφῆναι κελεύσειας. As to the power, which Eusebius *might conceive* himself required to exercise, as he has not himself told us his *conceptions* on this subject, it may be as well to say nothing about them.

(2.) "But it is particularly from the meaning, which is "ascribed to the term ἐπισκευή, that my hypothesis derives "confirmation. If I am allowed to take the comprehensive "sense of *refectio* and *instauratio*, which is ascribed to this "word, the evidence of the document is as clear as it is complete, *that there was a necessity acknowledged of repairing, "and solemnly setting forth, the sacred Scriptures.*" The document, or the Letter of Constantine, recognizes no other necessity for *solemnly setting forth the Scriptures*, than the wants of the new converts, and ἐπισκευή signifies the making new copies, not "*repairing*" the Scriptures. But we must pursue the author's ideas.

(3.) "This sense, which is exacted by the proper force of "the term, is not only confirmed by the external evidence of "the two writers before us, who represent the sacred text as "having so extensively suffered in the preceding persecutions, as to render this reparation necessary; but by the "internal evidence of the document itself, in which the *instauratio* of the Scriptures as the necessary cause is pre-

“viously specified, to the contingent effect, their *use* to the doctrine of the Church, to which end their *preparation* could not in any respect have contributed.” Sig. Calbo, however, wishes to change this useful word ἐπισκευή, for one of four others, σκευή, παρασκευή, κατασκευή, and διασκευή.

The two writers to whom the fabricator alludes and refers are Eusebius, and the author of the *Treatise de Mortibus Persecutorum*, who may or may not be Lactantius. See Sir J. Dalrymple’s learned and acute investigation of this question. Eusebius in the eighth book of his *History*, which is not worth quoting, if he corrupted copies of the Scriptures, says, “that he had seen houses of prayer levelled to the ground, and the inspired and holy Scriptures delivered to the flames in the market-places.” The other writer is the author of the *Treatise de Mortibus Persecutorum*, who relates these occurrences: “qui dies cum illuxisset repente adhuc dubia luce ad ecclesiam Præfectus cum ducibus, et tribunis, et rationalibus venit, et revulsis foribus simulachrum Dei quæritur. Scripturæ repertæ incenduntur, datur omnibus præda. Rapitur, trepidatur, discurritur,” p. 535. ed. Cantab. There is an important omission in both these writers, noticed by the commentator on the second, the omission of *the place* where these events happened. “Historia apud Eusebium occurrit, (lib. viii. c. .) *nulla tamen magis quam hic Loci fit nominis mentio.*” We know that these events happened, but we are not only unable to identify them with the motives of Constantine’s directions to Eusebius, which we are considering, but Constantine himself assigns others for his commands. He does not say that he intended to repair any loss extensive or otherwise of the sacred books by ordering *fifty* copies of them to be transcribed, and sent to Byzantium. He does not mention in this Letter the destruction of them, nor the persecution of Diocletian, nor alludes to its effects, but speaks merely of new copies of books wanted for new churches, and of the converts, who were increasing in number. Besides, what had “selecting and amending” to do with supplying the place of other copies, which had been traitorously surrendered to the persecutors? Mere transcription of copies would have sufficed for this purpose, and this is what was intended, and what was done, and nothing more. The copies were designed for persons and churches, which never had any before, not for persons and churches, which had lost them through the terrors or violence of persecution.

(4.) It seems, however, that "the *instauration* of the Scriptures, as the necessary cause is previously specified, to the "contingent effect, their *use* to the doctrine of the Church, "to which end their *preparation* could not in any respect "have contributed." Why then did the fabricator retain in his translation, published with the Remarks, a word so objectionable: "whereof chiefly (the sacred Scriptures) you "know the *preparation* and use to be necessary to the doctrine of the Church." But let us pursue the fabricator's remarks: "from the *use* which has been made of the latter "term (*instauratio*) by a celebrated writer, who lived near "the times of Eusebius, and devoted his attention particularly to sacred criticism, *I retain no doubt of its being the "identical term employed in the instrument, translated by Eusebius.*" This writer is St. Jerom, who has these words: "Euzoius—episcopus plurimo labore *corruptam* bibliothecam "Origenis et Pamphili in membranis *instaurare* conatus est:" and again: "quam (bibliothecam) ex parte corruptam Aca- "cuis dehinc et Euzoius, in membranis *instaurare* conati "sunt." And to what does all this *instauration* amount? To getting either entire new copies, or copies of parts of those MSS. of which the parchment was decayed. The fabricator's word "preparation" will accord much better with what Eusebius is supposed to have done, than *instauration*.

For before the scribes could enter upon their work, Eusebius had to settle what they were to transcribe. According to the fabricator, there was a "discretionary power vested in "Eusebius to select out of the mass of canonical and apocryphal Scriptures, those chiefly, which he conceived to be "useful and necessary to the doctrine of the Church." Constantine says, "give orders to the proper persons to write "out copies of the holy Scriptures." Eusebius himself says, that obedience instantly followed these commands. The fabricator, who knows something of the state of Eusebius's study-table at that time, says, that he had before him a mass of canonical, and apocryphal volumes, that he selected out of these what was useful and necessary to the doctrine of the Church; that is, that he revised the canon of Scripture, or made one of his own, before a single scribe could be directed to take up a pen, and transcribe certain prototypes. If Eusebius did all this, it must have preceded the labours of the scribes, and might well be termed preparation; but the fabricator avers, that "to their *use* to the doctrine of the "Church, their *preparation* (of the Scriptures) could not in

"any respect have contributed;" not even the selection from the mass of canonical and apocryphal writings*.

15. With regard to the language of the Letter, the fabricator says, "For my own part, after the striking remarks, which you (Sig. Calbo) have made on the internal evidence of the instrument, no doubt remains on my mind, that it was originally framed in Latin; and *if you feel any hesitation* on this point, one consideration will probably confirm you in an opinion, in which I feel myself established by your observations. *It is in fact only necessary* to my hypothesis to suppose, that the instrument, by whomever drawn up, was submitted for the approbation of the Emperor; and *this being granted*, it is not to be denied that it was submitted in Latin, as Constantine was acquainted with no OTHER LANGUAGE." "As indeed the Emperor and Bishop, between whom the communication was made, were respectively acquainted with that language, the difficulty really lies in conceiving how a different language should be chosen as the medium of communication, of which one of the parties possessed NO KNOWLEDGE." For an assertion of this kind, repeated with so much confidence, it is natural to require some reference to an authority of a contemporary, to his biographer for example; but there is no such reference, no such authority. The reason why the Emperor used Greek, is recorded in unsuspected sentences, and it is the simple and plain reason, *because he understood it*. Constantine opened the Council of Nice in the language of the empire, and in his imperial capacity, in Latin, which the Bishops did not understand. The speech of the Emperor was interpreted for the Bishops, but no one interpreted the speeches of the Bishops for the Emperor, or assisted him in carrying on his conversation with them. Eusebius describes his condescending and affable behaviour, and his conversation with them in their own language: *πρώτως τε ποιούμενος τὰς πρὸς ἑκάστον ὁμιλίας, ΕΛΛΗΝΙΖΩΝ ΤΕ Τῇ ΦΩΝῃ, ΟΤΙ ΜΗΔΕ ΤΑΥΤΗΣ ΑΜΑΘΩΣ ΕΙΧΕ, γλυκερός τις ἦν, καὶ ἡδύς*. Vit. Constant. lib. iii. p. 584. It seems then, that the Emperor, who removed the seat of the Roman government to Byzantium, actually understood the Greek language. On one side you have a Bishop, a contemporary, a friend, affirming that this prince

* "The authority with which Eusebius was vested to prepare this edition." Integ. of Greek Vulg. p. 26. "In preparing an edition of the Scriptures for general circulation." p. 41.

understood Greek; and on the other, an English ecclesiastic, not yet a Bishop, and living in the 19th century, affirming that the Emperor "understood no other language" than Latin. "Fond of the arts and sciences, he had carefully studied philosophy, history, and law, and could *speak* and *write* equally well in Greek and Latin," p. 181. Sketches of Church History, by John Erskine, D. D.

16. In passing to the fabricator's Postscript, I repeat the assertion, which I formerly made, that Eusebius did not publish an edition of the Scriptures; and I had asked "what kind of an edition of the Scriptures could that be called, which was a copy of the Scriptures with some erasures." The answer is, "probably a *castigated* edition; but I humbly apprehend not less an edition, because it was a mutilated edition; unless it is possible to mutilate books, so as to destroy *their* generic distinctions." Eusebius procured fifty copies of the Scriptures to be transcribed by able penmen, upon the best parchment. If he erased or suppressed any portion, it was a fraudulent copy, but no edition of the Scriptures. A copy of the Scriptures "with a list of Scripture texts was an edition;" with a prologue or preface to the several parts was an edition; with a comparison of other texts was an edition; with the variations of other MSS. was an edition; but a copy with arbitrary and unauthorized erasures was a mere fraudulent copy, formed by an act of knavery and not of criticism, a criminal diminution of the record of revelation, a direct sin, and nothing else.

17. I have said that the dispersion was just as fanciful as the existence of such an edition. I am referred to the following passage from Wetstein's Preface to his edition of the New Testament, for "conclusions not very remote from those" which I do not admit: "Sed et eadem occasione accidisse puto, ut libri illi pauci veteres (qui ex incendio Diocletiani manibusque traditorum salvi evaserant) *præ nobis istis et pretiosis Regiis codicibus sorderent atque vilescerent, passimque secernerentur, sicque paulatim neglecti interirent.*"

Several objections may be made to this passage from Wetstein.

(1.) It is mere supposition and not history, and rests upon his own unsupported *puto*.

(2.) He gives no authority for saying that *a few* ancient copies only escaped the violence of the persecution of Diocletian.

(3.) And we have only the same opinion for the comparative estimation in which the old and new copies were held by the Christians at Constantinople.

(4.) And the argument is defective in point of nature and probability. The few copies, which had been preserved during the times of persecution, would have had a value from this very circumstance, not to be compared with any resulting from novelty of penmanship and a splendid exterior, finer, and coloured, and pumiced parchment perhaps. The owners of these would transmit them with peculiar care and injunctions to others, with the history of their fate, and they again would entertain an increased reverence and attachment for the holy volumes which had been retained and guarded by their former possessors, with the courage and fidelity of martyrs.

(5.) The very antiquity of the volumes would form their best recommendation, as it did in the time of Tertullian, when each party contended for the truth of its own copy: "Ego meum dico verum: Marcion suum: Ego Marcionis affirmo adulteratum; Marcion meum. Quis inter nos determinabit, nisi temporis ratio, ei præscribens auctoritatem quod antiquius reperietur, et ei præjudicans vitiationem, quod posterius revincetur." Lib. iv. c. 3.

(6.) We cannot indeed ascertain the number of Christians who had copies of the Scriptures, nor of Churches where copies were deposited; but the probability is, that the copies were not reduced to "a few." Such a scarcity of copies would have been a matter of record among contemporary historians, but they are silent with respect to such a scarcity, and the difficulty of supplying fresh transcripts. It is somewhat singular, that nothing is to be found in the historians of the day respecting the mode of furnishing new copies of the Scriptures, required in consequence of the persecution of Diocletian.

18. "And if this statement" the fabricator proceeds to say, "be remote from the truth, it rests with the Examiner to account for the fact advanced on the same authority (Wetstein's) in the integrity of the Greek Vulgate." The fact is this: "omnes etiam vetustissimi codices habent κεφαλαία et τίτλους Eusebianos a prima manu, excepto Vaticano et Cantabrigiensi;" and these MSS. it is added "can scarcely be called exceptions." Because these MSS. have a convenient invention introduced perhaps by Eusebius, does it follow, that they must represent the state of the fifty codices, executed by order of Eusebius for the churches at Byzan-

tium? Had Eusebius invented these divisions at this time? Were the scribes directed to add them? Who can answer these questions, but the fabricator of the hypothesis.

19. I am next accused of stating as a *fact*, what the fabricator "merely pledged" himself to shew was a "probability." The "fundamental position which he undertook to establish" was," he says, "that the probabilities are decidedly in favour of Eusebius having *expunged*, rather than the Catholics having inserted, the disputed passages." *But this act of expunging, was the formation of what the fabricator calls the edition of Eusebius.* We shall see in what language the fabricator speaks of this probability only, and what cause there is for his complaint, that I have exaggerated by calling it a *fact*. "The destruction of the sacred books in the Diocletian persecution, and the *revisal of the sacred text by Eusebius.*" Preface to "the Integrity of the Greek Vulgate," p. xii.

"The coincidence between the Eastern and Western texts, must be attributed to the influence of Eusebius's *revisal*," which was published under the auspices of the Emperor Constantine." Ibid.

"The whole of the diversities in those MSS. are traced to three *revisals* of the sacred text, which were published in Egypt, Palestine, and Constantinople." Pref. p. xiv.

"When the Scripture canon was revised by Eusebius." Ibid.

"Versions, which were made before the text was revised by Eusebius." Ibid.

"Near the beginning of this century an edition of the original Greek was published by Eusebius of Caesarea, under the sanction of Constantine the Great." Integrity of the Greek Vulgate, p. 25.

"The authority with which Eusebius was vested to prepare this edition." p. 26.

"The authority committed to Eusebius, which seems to have vested him at least with a discretionary power of selecting chiefly those sacred Scriptures, which he knew to be useful and necessary to the Church." Ibid.

"The authority of the Emperor tended to recommend his edition to the exclusion of every other." p. 27, 28, 29. P. 30, 31, 33, "first edition of the Scriptures published with" the "royal authority;" 35, Eusebius's copies; 38, 41, 80, 81, when the edition of Eusebius was published in Palestine; 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 93, 94, "that it had been revised by Eusebius

“ is not to be denied ;” 100, 101, “ the publication of *Eusebius’s* edition at *Byzantium* under the auspices of the first Christian Emperor ;” 103, 104, 105, “ the text, which was published by Eusebius, at the command of Constantine ;” 108, “ the Palestine text which was recommended by the united authority of Eusebius and the Emperor Constantine,” 119, 128, 129, 133, 141, “ when this edition had by royal mandate superseded the Byzantine text at Constantinople ;” 143, 147, 151, 152, 164, 251, 252, 280, 1 John v. 7. “ presented fewer difficulties to the corrector, the iteration in the sentence made it merely necessary that the obnoxious passage should be erased, and it was consequently expunged by Eusebius, as little conducive to the doctrine of the Church, from being calculated to support the Sabellian errors ;” p. 283, 305, 340, 345, 347. “ the publication of a new text under Constantine.” “ The canon was revised by Eusebius,” 544, 545. I leave all this confident phraseology to the reader’s judgment, and proceed.

20. “ The honesty displayed in the next stricture,” I am told, “ in which the Examiner passes to p. 86, for a proof of the same conclusion which is advanced in p. 26, without any notice of the change of subject, will prove his moral qualifications in polemics to be nearly on a level with his intellectual.” As far as I understand this objection I answer, that the matter common in both these references is the absurd fiction, which the fabricator calls in so many places, the edition of Eusebius.

21. “ This change of scene introduces Dr. Lardner on the stage,” the fabricator observes, “ who tells us what Euthalius did, and what he did not do, the whole of which information is rather unluckily imparted at second-hand from Wetstein. By his help we are accordingly informed, that Euthalius compared his edition—with what? with correct copies of Eusebius? No such thing, but with the exact copies in the library of Cæsarea in Palestine. The name of Eusebius does not occur.”

I quoted from Lardner the following passage, vol. v. p. 241. “ In the year 458, he (Euthalius) published an edition of St. Paul’s Epistles, and afterwards about the year 490, an edition of the Acts of the Apostles and the seven Catholic Epistles, having first compared them with the exact copies in the Library of Cæsarea, in Palestine.” I will just apprise the reader, that the fabricator’s hypothesis required here “ exact copies of Eusebius,” and Lardner omitted the

less important circumstance, the library, the repository to which they belonged, and I denied the occurrence of the name of Eusebius in conjunction with copies, as Lardner virtually does, by omitting it when speaking of these "exact copies."

21. I must here bespeak the reader's particular attention and patience, if the patience of any reader may have borne him thus far, to the explanation and arguments, which will be presented to him on the question, whether copies of Eusebius, or the library, the volumes, or the shelves on which they were placed, be intended by the writers of certain colophons at the end of certain MSS.

"The learning and accuracy of that assertion, that the name of Eusebius does not occur, will best appear by referring the point in dispute to the author in question, (Euthalius.) The subscriptions ascribed to Euthalius stand as follows," Ed. Cath. Ep. 519. ἀντεβλήθη δὲ τῶν Πραξεῶν καὶ Καθολικῶν βιβλίον πρὸς τὰ ἀκριβῆ ἀντίγραφα τῆς ἐν Καισερίᾳ βιβλιοθήκης Εὐσεβίου τοῦ Παμφίλου, Ed. Epist. Paul. e Cod. Coisl. 202. ἀντεβλήθη ἡ βίβλος, πρὸς τὸ ἐν Καισερίᾳ ἀντίγραφον τῆς βιβλιοθήκης τοῦ ἁγίου Παμφίλου χειρὶ γεγραμμένον αὐτοῦ.

It will be observed, that the object of the fabricator is to shew, that the copies of Eusebius are alluded to in the first colophon, and he begins with remarks on the second, respecting the library of Pamphilus.

(1.) "Admitting," he says, "the latter scholium as authority for the true appellation of the Cæsarean Library, down to the period when the MS. was written, it appears to have been called from Pamphilus, who founded and endowed it." It will be sufficient to shew, that this library had several appellations, but not any ancient name, that was not a true one. It was called "the Library at Cæsarea," (in Cæsariensi Bibliotheca,) "the Library at Cæsarea formed by the Martyr Pamphilus," (Cæsariensi Bibliotheca quam Pamphilus Martyr studiosissime confecit,) "the Library of Origen and Pamphilus," (Bibliothecam Origenis et Pamphili,) and the colophon gives "the Library of Eusebius Pamphilus." The only appellation not a true one is modern, and is to be found in a book on the Integrity of the Greek Vulgate, where it is called, p. 84. "the Library of Pamphilus and Eusebius."

(2.) "As Εὐσεβίου cannot in consistency with the sense be governed by βιβλιοθήκης it may now be evident to himself, that it should be in apposition with that word, and be governed by ἀντίγραφα." The colophon presented no

more ambiguity to my mind than it did to Lardner's, who has translated it as any other person, knowing what he was translating, would translate it. "The book of the Acts of the Apostles and of the Catholic Epistles was collated with the exact copies of the Library of Eusebius Pamphilus in Cæsarea." Let us compare the two colophons.

ἀντιβλήθη
πρὸς τὰ ἀκριβῆ
ἀντίγραφα
τῆς ἐν Καισαρείᾳ
βιβλιοθήκης
Εὐσεβίου τοῦ
Παμφίλου.

Ed. Cath. Ep. p. 513.

ἀντιβλήθη
πρὸς τὸ ἐν Καισαρείᾳ
ἀντίγραφον
τῆς
βιβλιοθήκης
τοῦ Ἀγίου
Παμφίλου

χρηρὶ γνησαιομένων αὐτοῦ.

Ed. Ep. Paul. e Cod. Coisl. 202.

The Library of Eusebius Pamphilus, and the Library of the Martyr Pamphilus, are both clearly indicated in these colophons, but not the copies of Eusebius, nor the copy of the Martyr Pamphilus, but the copy of the Library of the Martyr Pamphilus, which we afterwards learn was an autograph of the Saint, or Martyr. The exact copies of Eusebius, as far as their existence is said to be collected from the evidence of the colophon, are a mere figment, produced by false grammar and perverted history.

(3.) Respecting these "correct copies" the fabricator argues, "that there is but one sense in which the author of this assertion could have intended it to be understood: that Euthalius in stating the authority on which his own accuracy rested, and quoting the correct copies of one, who had not only introduced the first great innovation into the sacred text by his sections, but who was a professed collater and correcter of Scripture, could have intended the assertion should be taken in a sense, which was equally applicable to the Gospel of the Nazarenes, or any other heretical work in Eusebius's possession, or deposited in the Cæsarean Library, is an absurdity which it will be time enough to refute, when the Examiner has given it the sanction of his own high authority."

(a.) The copies in the Library at Cæsarea had the reputation of exactness, whatever that term might imply. The epithet denoted some excellence, although it may be difficult

to specify in what it consisted. There might be no doubt exact copies of heretical or apocryphal writings, and if the term were applicable to all the volumes in the library on every subject, it would convey no small praise, and would recommend a collection of books in any age. We have before seen, that the Martyr Pamphilus had formed his library with the greatest care, "*studiosissime confecit*;" and when we observe, that the scribes spoke in their colophons of the merit and fame of the MS. which the library contained, we have every reason to receive the assertions of both parties as correct.

(β.) It seems, however, that "the exact copies of Eusebius" must be the proper version of the words, because Eusebius had been "a professed collater and correcter of Scripture." This language ought to have been explained, and I again trust to my friend Lardner: "In the Jesuits college at Paris is a beautiful MS. of the Prophets, supposed to have been "written in the 8th century. In that MS. as Montfaucon assures us, there is before the book of Ezekiel a note to this purpose: Transcribed from the Hexapla, containing the translations, and *corrected* by Origen's own Tetrapla, which also had *Emendations*, and Scholia in his own hand-writing. I Eusebius added Scholia. Pamphilus and Eusebius *corrected*." vol. iii. p. 343. So far then we might suppose that this correction was not an arbitrary and suspicious act. I will now add an illustrative passage from Bishop Fell's Preface to his edition of the New Testament, 1675. "*Quas vero turbas licentia ista dederit in minoris momenti scriptis ex Irenæi ea de re adjuratione satis superque constare poterit, qui in calce operis hæc habet: adjuro Te, qui transcribis librum istum, per Dominum Jesum Christum, et per gloriosum ejus adventum, quo judicaturus est vivos et mortuos, ut conferas postquam transcripseras, et emendes illud ad exemplaria unde transcripsisti, diligentissime; hanc quoque obtestationem similiter transferas, ut invenisti in exemplari.*" This I apprehend is a true account of the corrections and emendations of which we hear so much, and I believe that this which follows is most inaccurate: "in some MSS. containing the Palestine text it is recorded, that they were transcribed from copies, the originals of which had been *corrected* by Eusebius." The reader has already seen in what manner Eusebius *corrected* these MSS. The book of Ezekiel was transcribed from the Hexapla, "containing the translations, and *corrected* by Origen's own Tetrapla, which also had Emendations and Scholia in his own hand-

"writing." There is yet farther supposed proof of this invidious correction in another passage: "in the celebrated Codex Marchalianus, *the whole process* observed in correcting the text is *openly avowed*. The reviser there *candidly* states, that having procured the explanatory tomes of Origen, he accurately investigated the sense in which he explained every word, as far as was possible, and *corrected every thing ambiguous according to his notion*." Integrity of the Greek Vulg. p. 508, 509. It is not apparent that the text of Scripture was altered; although the same author affirms, "*a text, which bears internal marks of having passed through this process, which has been convicted on the clearest evidence of having been corrected from Origen, cannot be entitled to the smallest attention.*" p. 508, 509. The whole of the note stands thus, "having procured the explanatory tomes of Origen [on Isaiah as far as the vision of Tyre,] he [we] accurately investigated the sense in which he explained every word as far as was possible, and *corrected every thing ambiguous according to his (Origen's) notion*." So far the author of the Integ. of the Greek Vulgate, with the exception of the words in brackets. "Besides this, the edition of the Septuagint was compared with what is said by Eusebius upon Isaiah, and where they differed, having searched for the sense of the interpretation, we corrected by that." I cannot admit that this was a correction of the text of Scripture; but be that as it may, the spirit in which this correction was made was very different from that which we are about to consider. There were heretics, who were also "professed correcters" of Scripture. "They laid their hands on the holy Scriptures without fear; saying, that they had corrected them, λέγοντες αὐτὰς διορθώσαμεν," Euseb. Eccl. Hist. l. v. p. 254. Is Eusebius to be classed among these correcters of the holy books?

22. "Whatever scepticism," says the fabricator, "be indulged on the subject of Eusebius's copies, it will hardly be denied that they were taken from *some* exemplar." I have allowed very amply for this; more liberally than the fabricator, as will soon be seen.

23. "And however," he continues, "the Examiner may dream of certain copies of Origen and Pamphilus, preserved carefully on the shelves of a public library at Cæsarea, after a persecution had raged with aggravated fury in Palestine, which aimed particularly at the extermination of the sacred writings, some better evidence of their exist-

"ence must be produced than has hitherto been advanced, "before it be taken as granted." The fifty copies were taken after the persecution of Diocletian, and from some one or more prototypes at Cæsarea. How these escaped the search of the imperial agents in the persecution I cannot pretend to say. There are no annals of the fate of the Library at Cæsarea, and amidst such a dearth of records and history, silence is not only becoming, but necessary I should conceive.

24. "The testimony of Euthalius, when *fairly adduced*, "wholly discountenances such supposition. Had such copies "existed in Cæsarea, when he visited the library for the purpose of collating them, he *must have made some mention of them in his edition*; but the *genuine MSS.* of his works, collated by Zaccagni, contain *no notice of any copies but those of Eusebius.*" This I have already shewn is not the case; no copies of Eusebius are mentioned.

25. "A few interrogatories" are proudly proposed to me, "in the answers to which I am informed that I shall find all "that I am in search of."

Interrog. 1. "If the copies of Origen and Pamphilus were "preserved at Cæsarea, how came they to survive the Dioclesian persecution." Answer. I do not know.

Interrog. 2. "And at what other price could the books of "that library be preserved, but by surrendering *all* the copies "of the Scriptures?" Answer. I do not know. What! not one exemplar left for Eusebius "to mutilate," or "castigate," or "prepare," or "correct." "All! what All, say "you, at one fell swoop!"

Interrog. 3. If those copies remained until the "time of "Euthalius, how comes it that he preserves *no testimony* of "their existence, while interested transcribers of his works so "well knew the advantage, which they derived from having "their pedigree traced to the autographs of Pamphilus."

Answer. Evidence *is* preserved of the existence of one of those copies. What advantage the roguish scribes might take of the Bibliomaniacs of Palestine I am rather at a loss to say.

Interrog. 4. "If the Bibles transmitted to Constantinople "were transcribed from copies which had undergone *no preparation from the hand of Eusebius*, how comes it to pass that "every copy of the Constantinopolitan text possesses the Eusebian sections and titles? Were these also introduced by "transcribing the copies of Pamphilus?"

Answer. (1.) "The preparation of exemplars by Eusebius," which the scribes followed, is an assumption, and the notion itself of preparation is abandoned by the fabricator; the existence of the Eusebian sections and titles in the fifty copies is an assumption, and I leave them as unfounded suppositions.

(2.) But in what manner we may have an ancient text with more recent divisions, may be explained by a note in the Integrity of the Greek Vulgate: "In a beautiful illuminated copy of the Gospels formerly in the Vatican, which was apparently written for the use of the Emperor John II. who succeeded Alexius in the year 1118, a marginal note appears, which, while it declares that the MS. was a transcript from older copies preserved at Jerusalem, adds the number of the sections and sub-sections after the usual manner."

26. "To the remarks on the edition of Athanasius, it cannot be necessary to offer a reply, after what has been advanced respecting that of Eusebius. That its existence should be disputed by him, who places the essence of an edition in a prologue or preface prefixed, can no more excite wonder, than it deserves refutation." It was like Eusebius's edition, a mere copy of some MS. and no more: Lardner may be consulted on this subject.

27. "But now," says the fabricator, "for the decision of the whole controversy, which a quotation from Lardner, and the testimony of a scribe, brings to this summary conclusion: 'I shall only add, I said, that if Eusebius had done what Mr. N. imputes to him, even the scribes themselves might have furnished the means of detecting the fraud.' He proceeds: 'And as an instance alike corroborative of the justice of this conclusion, and illustrative of the credibility of the witnesses on whose testimony it depends, we are referred to the scholium, which has been already transcribed from Euthalius's edition of the Pauline Epistles.'"

I beg leave to say, that I have the evidence of a third witness. I shall take Montfaucon, the original authority, who knew at least as much of antique parchment and penmanship as the fabricator of the hypothesis: "In the French King's Library is a very ancient MS. written in the 5th or 6th century, containing part of St. Paul's Epistles. It seems to have been written in Palestine or Syria, for the transcriber says in a note at the end, that he had compared his copy with another in the Library at Cæsarea in the handwriting of Pamphylus." Lardner, vol. iii. p. 339.

28. "I pass over," he adds, "the polemical experience, or address, which rests the decision of a controversy on the subscription of a MS. and which selects one of Euthalius for the purpose, the copies of whose work are notoriously falsified."

I do not rest the decision of the controversy on this subscription, but before I part with it I must be informed, what critical authority has established this canon; that a subscription at the end of a MS. is to be rejected as bad evidence, and that a note in the margin of a MS. may be received as authority for a similar fact.

29. The state of the works of Euthalius is not correctly represented, when the copies are said to be notoriously falsified. "There are several things in the MS. copies of Euthalius now extant, which are not certainly known to be his. At the end of his Prologue to St. Paul's Epistles is a martyrdom of St. Paul, or a note concerning the time of St. Paul's last sufferings, which is also in Cæcumenius, prefixed to his Commentary upon the Acts of the Apostles." There are also Arguments prefixed to all St. Paul's Epistles, which are not known to be Euthalius's, nor the writer's who first divided those Epistles into chapters. Zacagni thinks they belong to neither. He therefore concludes these arguments were composed by some learned man afterwards, and the transcriber of Euthalius's work in after times inserted those arguments as a useful improvement of his edition. The arguments likewise of the Acts of the Apostles, and the Peregrination of St. Paul subjoined to it, and the Arguments of the Catholic Epistles, Zacagni does not ascribe to Euthalius. He thinks there is no good reason to say they are his, since Euthalius himself is silent about them." There is not a syllable of any corruption of the text of St. Paul's Epistles, or of the subscription of the MS.

30. But we approach a critic of a higher order than Montfaucon and Lardner. "When this scholium first fell in my way, the quackery employed in its fabrication was so manifest, that though I paid Wetstein's judgment the respect of giving it a place in my notes, I studiously avoided resting any part of my argument upon its authority." In the Integrity of the Greek Vulgate it appears without any caution to the reader, or any explanation why it appeared there. But we shall see that the mode of impeaching its genuineness leaves the colophon with all its original authority as an historical memorandum.

31. "The means of enquiring into its authenticity were not then in my power; the following are the proofs, which a *short* investigation has since produced in its favour. In the very first assertion which the author makes, ἔγραψα καὶ ἐξεθέμεν κατὰ δύναμιν στιχηρὸν τὸ δὲ τὸ τεύχος Παύλου τοῦ ἀποστόλου, he is convicted of falsehood: the first person who divided the Pauline Epistles was Euthalius, from whose text the MS. was undoubtedly transcribed, whereas this MS. pronounces it a copy from the autograph of Pamphilus."

(1.) The scribe does not arrogate to himself the invention, nor deny the claim of Euthalius. He leaves the merit of the invention of the divisions untouched, unquestioned, not alluded to.

(2.) The colophon does not intimate that the MS. was a copy of Pamphilus's autograph, but that it had been collated with an autograph of Pamphilus: ἀντεβλήθη. In the Integrity of the Greek Vulg. a MS. is mentioned, p. 35. which was both copied and collated: ἔγραψα καὶ ἀντεβλήθη. The text therefore is that of Pamphilus's copy, the divisions were from some other source.

(3.) "This scholium is further negated by the common consent of the copies of Euthalius, which preserve no trace of such a reference to the copies of Pamphilus, the reader will determine how far it is probable such a testimony would be suppressed, if found in his genuine MSS." The reader must attend to this salvo contained in the words "genuine MSS." The codex Coislinianus, 202, is a fragment of the Euthalian edition, and this has the colophon as it stands wherever it is faithfully copied, and without correction.

(4.) "The author of this fabrication betrays his fraud, it is said, by transcribing the following passage from Euthalius's Prologue to the Acts, εἰχῆ τῇ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν (for so he writes it) τὴν συμπεριφορὰν κομιζόμενος; whereas the Prologue to the Acts was not composed or published until a considerable period after the Pauline Epistles, of which this scholium is an appendage." Such a passage as that above, was most unfortunately selected as evidence of a fraud, for it is of that kind which might be transferred from copy to copy, without any charge of anachronism. "Hæc clausula," says Montfaucon, "quæ in nota Calligraphi observatur εἰχῆ habetur supra in Præmio Pamphili Martyris in argumenta sua et προεωρίαν τῶν Ἀκτῶν Apostolorum in Cod. xxv. unde videtur eam mutuatus esse Calligraphus." It is a precatory for-

mula, of which there is a great variety in the ancient MS. and these were transferred whenever the MS. was copied, and therefore the date of the first introduction of the form may be so difficult to be ascertained, that an accusation of an anachronism cannot be substantiated against a scribe. In the example cited from Fell's Preface to his edition of the New Testament, the adjuration was to be faithfully preserved, and transferred by all subsequent transcribers.

(5.) "The truth is, that the origin of this stupid forgery "is easily traced to the declaration of Euthalius, which is of "itself adequate to convict its author of imposture: καθ' ἑκα- "στην ἐπιστολὴν προτάζομεν τὴν τῶν, κεφαλαίων ἔκθεσιν, ἐν τῶν σω- "φοτάτων πατέρων ἡμῶν πεποιημένην: in this indefinite expres- "sion, and the plain testimony subjoined to the Acts, *the* "honest contriver of this scholium soon identified St. Pam- "philus." The fabricator is not aware that the epithet *Saint* is no indication of contrivance, and is only equivalent to *Martyr*; and St. Jerom speaks of him in the same lan- guage, Pamphilus Martyr, and simply records the fact, and merit, and estimation of martyrdom in general, and the co- lophon is rather confirmed than invalidated by the use of this appellative.

(6.) If the forgery of the colophon is pronounced to be "stupid," what will the correction of it be called? "*The* "reader will determine for himself, how far it is probable the "true subscription Εὐσεβίου τοῦ Παμφίλου might have given rise "to the spurious τοῦ Ἁγίου Παμφίλου, by an easy substitution "of Εὐσεβοῦς for Εὐσεβίου, which soon migrated into Ἁγίου."

I claim then the colophon unimpeached by the suspicions or doubts of those qualified to understand its nature and authority as evidence, and my remarks and reasoning rest on a sound foundation.

I shall conclude with reviewing the history of the transac- tion which we have analyzed, and then the fable of the fa- bricator of the hypothesis. The history is as follows. The Emperor Constantine the Great addresses a Letter to Euse- bius, Bishop of Cæsarea, and informs him, that in conse- quence of the increase of converts to Christianity, he had re- solved to build additional churches in his capital. He there- fore commands Eusebius to direct that fifty copies of the holy Scripture should be transcribed by persons well versed in their art; the furnishing of new copies, and the use of which, you know, says the Emperor, to be in particular neces- sary to the nature and constitution of the Church. The Ca-

tholicus of the Diocese is ordered to provide every thing which was necessary for the execution of the new copies, and Eusebius is enjoined to take care that the written books should be got ready as soon as possible; that this letter should be his authority for providing two public carriages for the conveyance of the books, and that a Deacon of the Church of Cæsarea should accompany them, and that upon his arrival he would receive some mark of the Emperor's favour. Eusebius says, that the execution immediately followed the commands, and that he dispatched the copies, which were finished at great cost, and divided into ternions and quaternions of leaves.

The fable of the fabricator runs thus. The Letter to Eusebius from the Emperor is said, "to vest in Eusebius a discretionary power to *select out of the mass of canonical and apocryphal Scriptures*, those chiefly, which he conceived to be useful and necessary to the doctrine of the Church;" "the Scripture canon was revised by Eusebius;" "Eusebius's revisal was published under the auspices of the Emperor Constantine; he was assisted by certain works in revising that edition of the Scripture at the command of Constantine;" "an edition of the original Greek was published by Eusebius of Cæsarea, under the sanction of Constantine the Great;" "his high reputation, aided by the powerful authority of the Emperor, tended to recommend his edition to the exclusion of every other." Constantine is elsewhere described as "the pious Emperor, who employed him (Eusebius) to revise the text." We have again "an edition of the Scriptures for *general circulation*," although the letter speaks of the fifty copies as designed especially for the converts, and the new churches. Again we find, "the first edition of the Scriptures published with the royal authority;" "the first edition of the sacred text revised by Eusebius, and published under the auspices of the Emperor Constantine;" "the publication of Eusebius's edition at Byzantium, under the auspices of the first Christian Emperor." We are told also, that there was "a necessity acknowledged of repairing and solemnly setting forth the sacred Scriptures" after the persecution of Diocletian, the object of which was the destruction of the copies of the holy books. Constantine does not acknowledge nor refer to this necessity in his letter.

Eusebius remarks, in his praise of Constantine, in contrasting the conduct of the persecutors in Diocletian's time, that

they levelled to the ground the houses of prayer, whereas Constantine improved those which remained, and built others; that *they* committed to the flames the holy Scriptures, whereas Constantine out of the royal treasure furnished a great many copies of them magnificently ornamented. But Eusebius does not say, nor does Constantine himself allege this reason in his letter, that churches were built at Byzantium to replace those which had been destroyed in other parts of the empire, or that the copies of the Scripture, which he ordered to be provided, were intended to supply the loss of them in other places. The conduct of the Emperor is merely opposed to that of the persecutors by Eusebius, but the Emperor himself acknowledges no "necessity" for "setting forth" the holy Scriptures, but the increase of converts, and the addition of new churches. If the reader wishes to know more of the fate of *this edition* of the Scriptures published by Eusebius under the sanction of Constantine, and of one or two other imaginary ones published by sainted critics, the fabricator continues his fable after the following manner.

The edition of Eusebius, although it "excluded every other," and "published with royal authority," did not please the good people of Constantinople. They required something else, when Constantine and Eusebius were out of the way. "It is certain that the orthodox, little satisfied with this edition, republished a *revisal* on the death of Eusebius and Constantine." "St. Athanasius and St. Basil *retouched* some copies." But Basil might, it seems, as well have left alone this *retouching* of the copies. The text of St. Basil "never received the royal authority, and was therefore probably dispersed among a limited number of readers, and confined to a particular region," probably a mere country circulation. "The revisal of St. Athanasius did receive the royal sanction, having been expressly prepared at the command of the Emperor Constantine." Yet this matter was not better in the capital. "Its authority expired with the influence of its author on the death of that prince, and his brother, the younger Constantine;" and so end the lives and adventures of these imaginary editions and editors of the Scriptures, invented by a priest in the 19th century in some village town in England.

If however Eusebius had made, or instructed others to make, erasures in the MS. which he ordered to be copied, the probability is very great, that the fraud would have been de-

tected in his own age. "From what place, or from what teacher, did you get your copies," might the older converts at Constantinople enquire of the new ones. "From Cæsarea." "Your copies are not like those, which have been brought before from the same place. Who wrote them out?" "Eusebius the Bishop ordered them to be written out at the command of the Emperor, as the Deacon said, who brought them here at the public charge." This is not so improbable an enquiry as might be supposed. The comparison of copies of the Scriptures used by persons of different sects was a common circumstance, as Eusebius himself informs us. The copies used by Asclepiades did not agree with those of Theodotus, those of Hermophilus differed from both, and those of Apollonius did not agree with one another. This comparison was common, because these copies were easily procured. The disciples of these persons had zealously transcribed what they called the emendations or corrections, of their masters, and hence many of these copies were to be obtained. The early copies of Apollonius differed from his later alterations of the text. The heretics could not deny these bold corruptions, because they were in their own hand-writing, nor had they received them from their early teachers, nor could they point out the originals from which they had transcribed their copies. Eccl. Hist. lib. v. p. 254, 255. Would the copies sent by Eusebius have had any peculiar good fortune to escape a similar scrutiny, if they had been made to differ so materially by expunging certain passages from those copies already in the possession of the older Christians at Byzantium? If they knew that the canon had been revised, and the apocryphal writings previously examined, before these copies were made, the omissions must have excited curiosity, and discussion, and alarm, among the whole body of the older Christians, and the source and authority of these corruptions and variations ascertained to the disgrace of Eusebius and his accomplices.

A few remarks on the concluding sentence of the fabricator's reply to my examination of his hypothesis will suffice.

"If in devoting this Postscript to the consideration of the Examiner's objections, I am supposed to have conferred on them a degree of importance, which they do not intrinsically justify, I beg it may be understood, that had not the

“author been announced as the *Editor of the Oxford Strabo*,
 “his *qualifications in construing* Greek would have induced
 “me to have consigned them to that repose, *out of which I*
 “*am much deceived*, or he will long regret, they should have
 “been ever awakened.”

The fabricator is always stumbling at titles, about which he does not like to *waste* “research.” Even the *ancient* Bishops will not tempt him to enquire about *their* honorary appellations. He is very fastidious and lofty also in the choice of his adversaries. He would not wish *them* to be *untitled*. I abstain from imposing a name upon him, which his merits, such as they are, demand, because every reader will give it in an appropriate word; and as to the regret, which I am supposed to feel, I simply assert, that he *is* “*much*,” very much, “*deceived*.”

APPENDIX.

I TAKE this opportunity of noticing very briefly some of the observations of the Author of a work entitled "Palæoromaïca," respecting the eighth of my Bampton Lectures, in which I proposed to trace within the compass of a discourse the diffusion of the knowledge of the Greek language. I did not undertake to shew, for I knew that my historical materials would not enable me to shew, that the Greek learning was *generally* studied, or that the Greek language was *generally* spoken in the countries, where I had ascertained its use and cultivation. That Greek was the language of the *common* people in those places, I cannot pretend to shew; for in what ancient history are we to find recorded, except incidentally, the qualifications and attainments of the lower orders of society?

I shall therefore content myself with confirming, or explaining, what I had advanced in my Lecture, and with examining some of the inferences and authorities in the Palæoromaïca.

1. The prevalence of the Greek language in Egypt and certain parts of Africa is disputed upon the authority of the question of "the chief captain," (Acts xxi. 37.) who asked St. Paul in surprise whether he could speak Greek, because he had supposed him to be an Egyptian. This question is said to be "absurd, if a knowledge of Greek was general, or even usual, among the Egyptians," p. 5.

I cannot admit the testimony of "the chief captain," respecting the extent to which the knowledge of the Greek language prevailed in Egypt; testimony, which amounts to a *supposition*, that the Egyptian of whom he knew nothing did not understand Greek. He was a fortunate leader of an insurrection, who could engage three or four thousand persons in Judea in such an enterprize, without being master of any other than his native language, and that, whatever it might be, the language of Egypt. I confirm what I have said elsewhere by the following extracts: "and yet beside all these

"forenamed, I would reckon up very many other dispersed
 "colonies of the Greeks both in Europe and Asia, and some
 "in Africk; for although I remember not that I have read in
 "any history, any colonies of the Grecians to have been
 "planted in Africk any where from the greater Syrtis west-
 "ward, except one in Cirta, a city of Numidia, placed there
 "by Micipsa the son of Masinissa, as is mentioned in Strabo;
 "yet thence eastward it is certain some were; for the great
 "cities of Cyrene and Alexandria were both Greek. And it
 "is evident, not only in Strabo and Ptolemy, but in Mela and
 "other Latin writers, that most of the cities of that part carry
 "Greek names; and lastly, Hierome hath distinctly recorded,
 "that Libya, which is properly that part of Africk adjoining
 "to Egypt, was full of Greek cities." p. 7, 8. "And cer-
 "tainly in *how little regard the Roman tongue* was had in re-
 "spect of the Greek in the eastern countries may appear by
 "this, that all the learned men of those parts, whereof most
 "lived in the flourish of the Roman empire, have written in
 "Greek, and not in Latin; so that of all the writers that lived
 "in Asia or in Africk, beyond the greater Syrtis, I think we
 "have not one author in the Latin tongue." p. 23, 24. "Brere-
 "wood, Enquiries touching the diversity of Languages
 "and Religions through the chief parts of the world." Lon-
 "don, 1674. Are we to oppose to Strabo, and Mela, and Pto-
 "lemy, the testimony of "the chief captain?"

The settlement of colonies, the foundation of cities, and the
 intercourse of commerce, are sufficient causes to which we
 may refer the knowledge and use of the Greek language,
 although we should exclude, and I see no reason for doing so,
 the influence of Grecian sovereigns in Egypt.

I had said, that Hannibal had acquired a knowledge of the
 Greek language, and had composed books in it, notwithstanding
 the edict of the Carthaginians, which prohibited the
 citizens from studying the Greek learning, or using the Greek
 language in conversation. The edict shews how generally
 the Greek language was cultivated in the commercial state of
 Carthage. I could not shew, that the soldiers in his army
 spoke it, nor did I myself, nor did I expect others to infer,
 that they understood it because their General understood it.
 The intercourse of their armies with the Greek inhabitants of
 their foreign possessions might frustrate the intention of such
 a law. But the author of P. informs us, that the mercenary
 troops that had served a long time in Sicily, had returned
 without having attained it. The cause which I had assigned

was a probable one, and its improbability is not shewn by the want of its natural effect in this instance.

3. I had specified the use of the Greek language among the Parthians, and particularly an incident related by Plutarch in his life of Crassus. This gives the author an opportunity of saying in a note, "that we are not to infer, that those, who assisted at Greek plays, were of course Greek scholars;" and he relates "an amusing anecdote of the Emperor Maximin" from Julius Capitolinus. Some Greek satirical verses were rehearsed by a mime on the stage. The Emperor did not understand them, but some persons near him did understand them, and pretended to acquaint him with their meaning. "Probably," says the author of P. "some emotion in those around him induced the Emperor to ask what the player had said." p. 8. Did they shew an appropriate emotion without an impression made upon their understanding by the signification of words? They might not be "Greek scholars," but their own account of the actor's speech shews that they were not strangers to the language. But a Greek play would not be acted for the pleasure of half-a-dozen learned spectators.

"In fact," says the author of P. "if we were to believe Mr. Falconer, that Greek was generally known in Upper Asia, it would have been perfectly unnecessary for Josephus to write a Chaldaic history of the Jewish war, as Greek would have sufficed." p. 10. "And yet he informs us that it was owing to the former, (the Chaldaic History,) that the Parthians and Babylonians, and the remotest Arabians, and those of our own nation beyond the Euphrates, with the Adiabeni, knew the events of the Jewish war:" and again: "while the eastern nations," whom he enumerates, "*knew accurately* by his *Chaldaic* history whence the war began." The author of P. wishes to impress upon his reader, that it was the *language* in which the history was written, that was the chief cause of the *accurate knowledge* of the events of the war, which those nations would thus possess. Josephus says, "that he was *forced* to give the history of it, because that others had perverted the truth of those actions in their writings:" "that some men had gotten together *vain* and *contradictory* stories by hear-say." He speaks also of some that were present, who had given *false* accounts of things, "whose writings contain *no where* the *accurate truth* of the *facts!*" "of some of their own principal men, whose mouths are wide open, and their tongues loosed presently for gain

"and law-suits, but quite muzzled up, when they *must speak truth, and gather facts together with a great deal of pains.*" "I thought it an absurd thing to see the *truth falsified* in affairs of such great consequence, and to *take no notice of it.*" He might therefore well say, that the Parthians, &c. "by my means" (*διὰ τῆς ἐμῆς ἐπιμελείας*, by my care and industry) "knew accurately both whence the war began, &c." Nothing is said, which shews, that we ought to restrict to the language what relates to the credibility of the narrative. I assent to the remark in a note in Whiston's translation: "whence we also learn that these Parthians understood Hebrew, or rather Chaldaic books of the Jewish war, *before* they were put into Greek." p. 246.

But the Jewish historian, and the author of P. do not agree in their accounts of the same facts. The latter says, his history was translated into Greek, "that the Greeks, and *some* of those Romans that were not in the war, might not be ignorant of these things." Josephus himself says, "*those Greeks and Romans* that were not in the war." The introduction of the word *some* into the extract from Josephus accommodates the historian's narrative to the theory of the writer; that the Greek language was only partially understood. And yet the author has not overlooked the omission of *ferè* in the extract from Cicero copied by the Bishop of St. David's².

4. "To promulgate it originally through the means of a translation would be a suspicious introduction of a religious system," is said to be an "unfortunate" remark. I meant, as any other person would, a translation of some original, which then existed in writing, which could be inspected, and copied, any time, and written in a language understood as well as the language of the version; but the author of P. supposes it to signify the testimony of an eye-witness, who commits to writing in his own language what he has heard spoken in another. But how shall we prove that St. Matthew did not understand Greek, or that our Saviour never used it?

² No person of any feeling, or candour, or zeal for the welfare of the established Church, can see without disgust and indignation the base and unmanly treatment of this most useful, liberal, and disinterested prelate, and able scholar, in the Quarterly Review. His efforts to establish a place of education for the clergy in South Wales ought to raise up advocates in his defence against the vulgar malignity possibly of some of the Durham clergy, or the philosophers of the academic schools. I have said, liberal. Let any accuser calculate the overflowings of the See of St. David's, and then speak of this dignified lover of filthy lucre publicly and honestly.

I say no more on this topic, as it has been well discussed by the Bp. of St. David's.

5. Some curious information respecting the knowledge of Greek among the Jews has been collected by Lightfoot. With regard to the study and application of it among this people we are informed, "when Aristobulus the Asmonean besieged his brother Hyrcanus, and some things had fallen out amiss with them through the counsel of a *certain old man skilled in Greek learning*, they said, Cursed be the man that cherisheth swine, and cursed be the man that teacheth his son the wisdom of the Greeks." In the war of Titus, they decreed that no man should teach his son Greek." Samuel saith in the name of Rabban Simeon ben Gamaliel, "There were a thousand boys in my father's school, of whom five hundred learnt the law, and five hundred the wisdom of the Greeks." "They allowed the family of Rabban Gamaliel the Greek learning, because they were of the royal family." vol. i. p. 660.

6. The testimony of Papias I consider as attended with difficulties. "Matthew," he says, "wrote [the divine] oracles in the Hebrew tongue, and every one interpreted them as he was able." I think it difficult to discover the meaning of this passage. It may relate to the subject, or to the language of the Gospel. If it relates to the latter; it does not seem that the language in which it was written was well understood at the time. (2.) He had not seen the book. "Where does Mr. Falconer learn this?" I learn it from his silence, and his disposition to collect traditionary information. "I was of opinion," he says, "that I could not profit so much by books as by the living." He does not say where it was to be found. The Hebrew Gospel used by the Ebionites and the Nazarenes which Jerom translated, was supposed by most persons to be the authentic Gospel of St. Matthew, and it was this Gospel probably to which the tradition of Papias related.

7. Did the Jews of Jerusalem understand Greek? It is inferred from the inscription on the cross in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, that "if the *common Jews* could not have understood an inscription of a few words, unless it had been written in their own language, we may judge of their ability to understand a whole Gospel." p. 15. Are we to reason in this manner? Because the Hebrew was not excluded on such an occasion as this, therefore the Jews at Jerusalem did not understand Greek? The Hebrew was intended for the

Jews, the Latin for the Romans, and the Greek was it for some unknown persons? So again of the notice: "let no one pass these bounds," inscribed in Greek and Latin on the pillars of the partition wall before the sanctuary; it is said, "if it was necessary to write such a short advertisement in Latin as well as Greek, is it not absurd to suppose that these very persons would have understood a whole Greek Gospel or Epistle." It is much more absurd to suppose that the Jews at Jerusalem could furnish Greek only for an advertisement. Such a notice ought to be in the language best understood by the parties to whom the caution related. It indicates nothing of the general attainments of those who put it up.

8. "Even in the vision on the road to Damascus, Jesus spoke in Hebrew to Paul, though Greek would have been equally familiar to a native of Tarsus." note 13. It was not the object to try the knowledge which St. Paul had of the Greek language. In the Revelations we see Christ assuming a title from the names of two Greek letters, as I was reminded by Lightfoot.

9. Some extracts from Josephus are adduced to furnish the next proof, that a knowledge of Greek among the Jews in the metropolis was "very trifling," or "that except among a few individuals it had no existence." P. p. 14. As I believe" (says Mr. Hamilton in his book cited by the author of P.) "it is supposed in general by the learned, that the Greek language was not totally unknown among the Jews, the following passages from Josephus will shew the contrary."

"Now Simon and John, and they that were with them, desired a conference with Titus, which he granted. He placed himself on the western side of the inner court of the temple, and there was a bridge, that parted them. There were great numbers of Jews waiting with these two tyrants, and there were also Romans on the side of Titus. He ordered the soldiers to restrain their rage, and appointed an *interpreter*." "What occasion, says Mr. H. was there for an interpreter, if the leaders of the Jews were acquainted with the Greek language, of which Titus cannot be supposed to have been ignorant." P. p. 14. Josephus himself adds the reason why an interpreter was employed. The words are: "placing an interpreter by his side, which was a sign of superiority, or the power of a victor: καὶ τὸν ἐρμηνέα παρὰ αὐτὸν στήθεος ὅπως ἦν τεκμηρίον τοῦ κρατεῖν. This was not an occasion

for Titus to use any other than his own language. The second extract from Josephus I cannot find.

10. Another argument is brought from the difficulty of acquiring the Greek language: "a difficulty experienced even" by Josephus himself. This prodigy, as he is thus pleased "to represent himself, speaks of the slowness of his progress" in his Greek history, it being a difficult thing, says he, to "translate our history into a foreign, and to us unaccustomed language," p. 15. This is not the *whole explanation* of the cause of the slow progress of his work. Josephus imputes it to other causes as well as to this: "And indeed, I did" formerly intend, when I wrote of the war, to explain who "the Jews originally were; what fortunes they had been subject to, and by what legislator they had been instructed in piety, and the exercise of other virtues; what wars also they had made in remote ages till they were unwillingly engaged in this last with the Romans. But because this work would take up a great compass, I separated it into a set treatise by itself; but in process of time, as *usually happens to such as undertake great things, I grew weary, and went on slowly*, it being a large subject, AND a difficult thing to "translate our history into a foreign, and to us unaccustomed language."

11. "Augustus," it is said, "appears to have been an indifferent Grecian, in spite of his efforts and of his talents and advantages," p. 27. and yet the author quotes a passage from Suetonius, who says, "ne Græcarum quidem disciplinarum leviores studio tenebatur: in quibus et ipsis præstabat largiter:—non tamen ut loqueretur expedite, aut componere aliquid auderet. Nam si quid res exigeret Latine formabat vertendumque alii dabat." He did not speak fluently, nor *venture* to compose any thing in that language; but this is not equivalent to not speaking at all; nor not daring to compose, equivalent to being unable to do it. His speech at Alexandria might have been translated from his original Latin, but there is no direct proof of this. Did he address the common people there?

12. "Mr. Falconer mentions, that Tiberius also knew Greek." I will add from Suetonius some other particulars:

^b "Origen also informs us, that the Jews were not curious of Greek learning, and seems to regard such a person as a phenomenon." p. 18. The Jew in Celsus quotes a passage from the *Bacchæ* of Euripides, which produces the remark of Origen. But the Greek language might be known independently of the literature, or philosophy of Greece.

" Though he was ready and quick at the Greek tongue, yet he " did not use it every where, but chiefly forbore it in the senate house." " *He would not suffer a soldier, that was examined as a witness upon a trial in Greek, to make any answer but in Latin.*"

Claudius too applied himself with " no less care to the " study of Grecian literature, declaring his love of that language, and the excellency thereof upon all occasions." " He oftentimes harangued by way of answer to ambassadors " for a long time together in that language before the senate. " He writ some histories too in Greek, as twenty books of the " Tuscan affairs, eight of the Carthaginians."

I do not know what inference the next passage will justify us in deducing, " As oft as he had revenged himself upon an " enemy, or a conspirator, he scarce ever gave to the tribune " on guard, when he came to him, according to custom for the " word, any other but this, ἀνδρ' ἐπαμύνεσθαι ὅτε τις πρότερος χα- " ληπαίνῃ." Yet this Emperor shewed a political jealousy of the use of the Latin where the sovereignty of Rome was to be acknowledged in administering affairs in the provinces.

13. I had said that Greek was the language of commerce. The author of P. says, in a well bred formula worthy of the fabricating ecclesiastic, " This I deny; or could the Carthaginians, who were the principal commercial people, have " forbidden the learning of it by any of their subjects." p. 36. The edict was passed at a time of irritation, and might have been neglected. At Marseilles, at Alexandria, at Carthage, the Greek was used, and most probably as a medium of commercial communication with other places. The articles of trade imported from the east, and of which a catalogue is to be found in the Digest, have for the most part Greek names.

14. If I shewed that the Gauls were said by Ephorus to have been φιλέλληνες, I did not pretend to shew that every Celtic prince spoke Greek; or that all the common Parthians used it, or that every Jew at Jerusalem, or that every Roman, could converse in it; my research would not furnish proofs of any such facts respecting the lower ranks of people. If any one has any curiosity to investigate this subject farther, there may be seen in Gruter an inscription on some pillars found on the Appian Way near the sepulchre of Metella, which begins with ΟΔΕ-ΝΙ ΘΕΜΙΤΟΝ, and is addressed to the common passenger I should suppose; the copy of the inscription on a tablet from a temple of Æsculapius at Rome, with an enumeration of diseases

and remedies in Greek ; this was designed for general information and advantage, I imagine : a votive tablet to Commodus from the naucleri ΤΟΥ ΠΟΡΕΤΤΙΚΟΥ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΙΝΟΥ ΣΤΟΑΟΥ ; and a long address from the inhabitants of Puteoli to the people of Tyre. More perhaps might be found, but I leave the enquiry in abler hands, with more leisure, and better opportunities of research, in those of the Bishop of St. David's, the Reviewer in the British Critic, and the writer on the Aldine Simplicius, from whose remarks and learning however I have not borrowed any assistance.

I say, better opportunities of research, for all the authorities and passages cited in the *Palæoromæica* should be weighed and verified.

I see no reason for altering the conclusions deduced in my eighth Lecture.

It should be remembered, that the Gospel was preached for a longer or shorter period before it was committed to writing. Who can assign the reason why there were not as many Gospels as languages spoken in every country under heaven ? The preaching was a test of the truth of what was afterwards written, and the recollection of this preaching, combined with the reception of the written Gospels, established the canon of the New Testament, without the help of Emperors, Synods, or Councils. What was received or rejected was admitted or excluded by a reference to facts, which the early Christians only could ascertain, and of which they could be the sole judges. We can perceive, that the appearance of the Gospels in one language would simplify the enquiry into their authority and genuineness. What a source of doubt and objections to sceptics and infidels would have been the perishing of so many inspired writings with the decline and annihilation of tribes and nations, and the extinction of their languages. How would the minds of believers have been distracted by the fruitless surmises and speculations of disputants and critics, and what temptation to the fraudulent to impose on the world forged translations of these lost and valuable volumes, once current among barbarians as well as Greeks. Men in these days can see advantages in the communication of a revelation in the language of a refined and civilized people, whose literature has been preserved. This literature has served to maintain the knowledge of the two languages of the two most remarkable nations of the world, and, as far as we are able to judge, the choice either of the Greek or Latin language as the language

of the Gospel might not have been to this age a matter of great importance; yet we cannot pretend to say, how much intellectual improvement would have been lost, if the Greek had not been the language of the records of Christianity. It is a matter however of infinite moment not to disturb the testimony of history by unfounded hypotheses, or to affect to supply the want of historical proof by fabricated facts.

Note to page 30.

The fabricator with his usual arrogance derides the use which I have made of a subscription to a MS. as evidence. I may assume, I apprehend, that Porson was as good a judge of evidence of this kind as the fabricator himself, and he has employed the same sort of testimony: "Perhaps, Sir, you may ask, why I think the passages above mentioned spurious. First, for the reason already given: secondly, because the *following subscription* is added at the end of the eighth book in two MSS. one of which I have seen. I have transcribed these eight books, which contain many things added and altered." P. 342, Lett. to Travis.

THE END.